1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

various ways. The affine who marries into the band, as long as he lives with the band, has a right to the water, to the hunting, and to the gathering of the wild foods, as members born to the band have.

I think that primarily the values and assets that parents seek in choosing mates for their children have to do with the kind of security which is attained through human responses and relations. Friends may want their children to marry because they know and trust each other. Or a family may want to increase its kinship bonds—and thereby its security—with certain bands for any number of reasons—among them could be food, water, or a desire to have supporting friends in a certain area—and, like the crowned heads of Europe, the /Kung may deliberately seek to establish alliances through marriages.

Merging with such desires and to be balanced with them are the characteristics of the families concerned. The /Kung want their boys and girls to marry into upstanding families, among people who are ' able to feed themselves ', who are ' not lazy and not thin '. They do not want ' far-hearted ' in-laws who are not generous in food-sharing and gift-giving. /U, ≠Toma's wife, said she would take particular note of their generosity in giving bead ornaments to their children. She would not want a daughter of hers to marry among people who were stingy in that. Proper observance of the avoidances and other social regulations is an asset in in-laws, for they can then be assumed to have taught their children how to behave properly.

The individual's characteristics are also a concern. Parents of boys hope the girls to whom their sons are engaged will grow up to be good-looking, because, they say, a man takes pride in a beautiful wife. Xama, the mother of Gao, the headman of Band 2, said she had wanted for her son a light-skinned girl with good teeth who was not too thin and not too tall. But most important of all is a sweet temper, she said. A mother hopes, she said, that the girl will not be lazy or wander about visiting at night at other people's fires ' like a bitch '. The girl should observe the avoidances and the menstruation and other taboos, and in every way behave as a well brought up girl should. However, since the girls are engaged when they are very young, I suppose the parents of the boys can only watch them grow and hope.

Girls would not want a man ' as tall as a giraffe ', we were told. They would seek a smaller husband. /U's first husband, from whom she was divorced, is so tall (almost six feet) that people laugh and say, ' Did his mother have a dream with a *//gaua* (a spirit)? '

The girls themselves, all twitters and giggles, told me what they admire in the boys. They like a good hunter like /Gunda; and they like handsome teeth and a wide smile like young Tsamgao's; and straight, slender legs like //Ao's; and a fluid, swift walk like /Gao's; and they hate a big black belly like Gao's—the middle-aged medicine man in a band distant from Gautscha, to whom the young /Doin was married.

The parents of a girl want the boy to be responsible, kind to their daughter and, above all, a good provider—which means a good hunter. They want him to make his arrows straight, to shoot swiftly and accurately, to be able to run down an eland, and, most of all, they want a son-in-law whose heart says to him, ' Why am I sitting lazily here in the werf? Why do I not get up and go hunting? ' and who, in obedience to his heart, and the group's desire, and the magic which has been rubbed into his scarifications in the Ceremony of the First Killing, gets up and goes.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

585 [159] [183] then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that place and get us some meat.'

The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

585 881 [174] Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

[171] About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the [174] menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

585 821 The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli /gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and 593 cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride 585 is shielded from it.

602 The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[113] [1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 23. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

/141 cont./

302 Men and boys do not use this cosmetic, nor do old women, but only young women and girls.

The mixture is applied in circles on the cheeks (see Photo. 20, woman farthest to the left), but it is also rubbed on the body in any other place possible, such as on the arms or belly. Frequently the entire body is greased with it.

Among men a kind of black grease is used. This has "a pleasant odor," at least according to Bushman notions. It is [756] manufactured by the "doctor." The men smear it under and on the nose. It is questionable whether it is more a means of beautification or of enjoyment.

All male Auin have a green line over the root of the nose, 304 and usually also a crossbar under and at right angles to it. The crossbar is usually not colored (cf. Fig. 4).

Both lines consist of innumerable small transverse cuts. There are almost always two to four deep, especially conspicuous scars in the longer line. The length of the longitudinal line is usually from 2.5 to 3.5 centimeters, and that of the crossbar from one to 1.5 centimeters. Sometimes the longitudinal line is considerably longer and extends to the hairline. In the case of one Auin about 20 years old, no forehead tattoo was observed. In answer to questioning he replied that "it would be done later." On the other hand, I found a forehead tattoo on a quite undeveloped girl who ●[881] was at most eight years old. Hence it would seem that the tattoo is not connected with sexual maturity, an impression which the Auin themselves confirmed. One woman had two parallel longitudinal lines; another had two lines on each cheek, which in size and execution were like the vertical forehead line. Both were Auin by birth; in other words, they had not married into the tribe.

[177] According to the statements of the Auin, the forehead tattoo was copied from the Betschuana.

The forehead tattoo is called gi. Evidently no special significance is attached to it. Incidentally, I have seen the same tattoo among all the other Bushmen tribes. [Fig. 4 appears here.]

As a tool for making the countless little transverse incisions [412] that constitute the forehead tattoo, any sharpened little piece of iron may be used. I was unable to determine the pigment used to produce the green color, which is indelible.

/157 cont./

841 The water and food collected by menstruating women are consumed only by the women themselves and old people; the younger ones "it makes weak."

593 858 The authority of the parents practically ceases as soon as the children are in a position to provide food for themselves.

553 A child is named soon after birth by the grandfather or grandmother (whether on the paternal or the maternal side was not determined).

145 Boys reach puberty between 14 and 16 years of age and girls between 13 and 15 years of age (estimates).

● 881 The declaration of a boy's maturity is a special event in the life of the Bushman. Under the leadership of the "doctor," several youths from neighboring settlements march into the bush and live together there for some weeks on the veld crop. During this time they receive some sort of instruction in secret affairs. Young and old Auin alike, whom I interrogated separately, denied that this instruction pertains to sexual matters. To the question of what they did during their stay in the bush, I always received the answer: "They dance." They did, indeed, describe for me a kind of dance which decidedly has something childishly mysterious about it. [535] A boy seats himself "piggyback" on the back of another, and both wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier tramping with his feet as rapidly as possible without moving forward, while both of them utter a low "hu, hu" in as horrifying a manner as possible.

It is indeed difficult to imagine that this interesting occupation should last for weeks, interrupted only by sleeping and eating.

In addition, the young people seem to be treated quite badly in the course of this preparation and to receive little to eat; all of them concurred in the opinion that it is "miserable."

I learned through hints that the candidates for manhood play all kinds of tricks on neighboring villages during the night and play as "ghosts" a bit, as well as stealing food.

[884] The actual attainment of manhood, after which the boys are warriors and are allowed to marry, is not solely dependent on attending the preparation, but also on the killing of the first piece of big game.

[304] Tattooing is not connected with the official attainment of manhood

/157 cont./

881 manhood. In the case of girls no special preparation occurs. As soon as a girl has her first menstrual period, people from neighboring and friendly settlements assemble for a great celebration. The girl lies prone on the ground while old women form the orchestra near her, singing and clapping their hands. The younger [535] women stamp /158/ along in goose step, their buttocks exposed. Individual men from time to time enter the circle and all of them imitate the movements and sounds of rutting animals. I believe that this is the eland bull dance. A girl may marry [582] only after the onset of the first menses.

S. Birth and Death

The birth takes place in the open air outside the settlement. 844 The woman sits on the ground with the upper part of her body propped up and her knees drawn up.

[845] Reviving apparently stillborn children by rubbing their limbs and bodies is practiced.

Old women assist at the birth. In difficult cases, for instance, when the woman is ill at the time of the birth, the "doctor" is called in.

The doctor, among other means that he employs, is supposed to relieve a difficult birth by performing a kind of sucking with his mouth at the vagina.

When he assists at a birth, the doctor murmurs magical formulas.

The umbilical cord is severed with the sharp edge of a reed splinter, never with any other object. Practical reasons for this could not be given: "It has always been so."

The man slings his bowstring around the body of the woman in labor. Then he goes away and during the birth stays in his hut.

I was unable to determine any symbolic significance in the use of the bowstring. The explanation was: "The birth is easier."

[846] The woman who has given birth is spared as long as a month after delivery and does not need to work.

The newborn child is wiped off with the nest of the weaver bird (?). In no case is water used.

[8 cont.]

177 nothing can be done without Erob; we also pray to him whenever
776 somebody is ill, but we have no song for that, we do it in our
782 hearts." In these conceptions Christian influence is obvious.

881 They have no initiation for boys, but there is one for girls at the time of the first menstruation.

The girls' initiation is called "dorob."

At the onset of the menses, the girl becomes a "ǂ'ába ǂ'ábesa"; a special hut (omba) is built for her, where she is guarded by older women who feed her. The girl is allowed to eat anything, but nothing with her hands. When the menses end, a two-day festival begins, which terminates with a concluding dance. The candidate is seated in the center. Men and women go around
[534] her in a circle. The men blow on wooden trumpets. (These trumpets are made by the !Kung at only one place.) At the same time the drum is beaten (!guruba). At the conclusion, the women make "music." They clap their hands and sing:

[539] e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e . . .

Between times the drums and wooden trumpets sound.

539 Then the choral song of the men begins.

881 boro ai /i-he ≠hasa — Daughter my has become tall (just)
≠hau ge — Stand erect (tall)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re — Good be now our little sunshine (1)

1. Literally: "Shine, you."

/ari ni tessa — Dance (2), sing, sue for her hand (3)

2. Literally: "Jump."

3. Literally: "Ask for!"

!goasa hi bare — People, be glad
Ti Komi !gŏă Kŏŏ...Kŏŏ... Kŏŏŏ — So, in this way, people, you should do it.

Then the dance begins anew.

[582] The engagement usually takes place long before the
585 girl's initiation. Hence the rule is that the wedding and the girl's
881

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE GIRLS
585 initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
581 her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
97 and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[694] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 /12/ A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

/14 cont./

chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara) and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba. This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the /15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say," said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob." The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against illnesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris) and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.

Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

"Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

The following was communicated to me concerning the social organization:

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:

[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)

The women clap their hands and sing:

"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration
852 is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman,
611 and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head
582 of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

601

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a χ'oron-khe	/gōab/gōb
Daughter	χ'ams-khe	/gōas/gōs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

[30 cont.] VON ZASTROW
113 and Vedder (1) report further:
1

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Buschmänner, pp. 412-413.

843 "It is absolutely against the rules to do anything by word or
754 deed to the pregnant woman that might make her angry. Her evil eye in this period is especially dangerous; her angry word or her curse has an even worse effect. Sores, illness, protracted suffering, and death are the consequences of the evil eye or the curse of a pregnant woman.

844 "It is customary to sever the umbilical cord with an instrument only when the blood no longer pulsates. The umbilical cord is not tied off. The afterbirth must be carefully and secretly buried. The life of the child would be greatly endangered if an animal found it or if a feared sorcerer could appropriate a piece of it."

●846 As soon as the girls have their first menstruation (/n) (2),

2. Female genitalia (/n-i).

a celebration takes place, but in this tribe I was unable to learn any of the details. On this occasion, the women dance, clap their hands, and sing, "giriri, giriri, giriri, uhu, giriri uhu," and so forth.

Men may not be present at this celebration. In a Hei//om horde neighboring the !Kung, spirits are appealed to in all directions on the occasion of this celebration, so that the girl, as an adult, will find veldkost everywhere.

The existence of a true initiation for boys is denied (3).

[114] 3. On this point I was either misunderstood
[124] or told a falsehood.

There is merely a kind of testing; an older man goes with the candidate or candidates on a hunting expedition. Under the supervision of the older person, the candidate must kill a specimen of large game. The animal is then brought to the sacred fire, at which the

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man; 582 584 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

[31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must 881 conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they [867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening [584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one [606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young [304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even [386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

"There is nothing against applying another mark on the 224 304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting 881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re- 884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me
782 concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder
769 dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are
● 881 implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

"If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband
787 suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up
695 the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root
684 that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
535 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
302 customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

[69 cont.]

The Bartering Game

524 It is exactly like analogous games in Europe.

The War Game

The boys stand in two rows facing each other and play at shooting arrows. The one shot at tries to protect himself. As soon as he becomes tired, he falls over as a "dead person." The game is played until only one is left.

The Bride-Stealing Game

Two young girls dance behind a bush. They are the brides. Two older girls with sticks follow their trail; they are the suitors who try to catch the two brides. When they have succeeded, two more girls representing the mothers appear, and they try to prevent the abduction of the brides. Finally, however, the brides are abducted anyway.

The Ball Game

The ball game is definitely a women's game, in which small girls and grandmothers alike participate. The players stand in two rows facing each other, and the ball, usually a round watermelon, is thrown from one row to the other.

2. The Boys' Initiation

881 Among the Nogau, the boys are initiated when they reach maturity. The boys' initiation is called Dschai-dschua.

The young man is not accepted into the community of men simply through marriage. He must first submit to the initiation, which proceeds as follows among the Nogau:

Under the leadership of an experienced elder and several

NOGAU
≠AUIN

[69 cont.]

assistants, the boys go into the bush. On the first day two vertical incisions are made on the forehead; then they sing throughout the night and dance to the melody: "Ije, ije, aije, aije . . . oho, oho," etc.

On the morning of the second day, the incisions on the forehead are extended to the root of the nose and the hairline. On the afternoon of this day the elders call the youths together to look for veldkost. The elder loosens the roots with his digging stick, and as he does so the candidates place their hands on the arm doing the work. The boys must then dig the roots out of the ground with their hands, without the help of tools. "From now on they can look for veldkost themselves, for now they have been taught."

After this lesson they return to the place where the women are. [70] Food is prepared there for both the men and the candidates; the candidates are allowed to eat only veldkost, no meat. Then they dance, together with the women and girls, for a night and half a day.

In the afternoon the candidates go hunting. They must bag three animals: a small duiker, a guinea fowl, and a bullfrog. They take their prey and assemble with the older instructors at a remote place, the three kinds of meat are cooked together, the meat is eaten by the elders, and the bodies of the boys are washed all over with the soup. From now on they may eat the three animals, hitherto forbidden to them. Now they again dance and sing: "Oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu" (long drawn-out).

≠Auin: The candidates from neighboring villages go into the bush under the leadership of the doctor, and they live there on veldkost for a few weeks. During this time they receive instructions in secret matters. Kaufmann reports the following dance: A boy gets up on the back of another, and both of them wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier swinging from one leg to the other as rapidly as possible without moving forward, and both of them yell "hu, hu." They actually attain manhood, which gives them the right to marry, only through the hunting test. Tattooing is not connected with the declaration of manhood.

NARON
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[70 cont.]

881 Among the Naron, on the other hand, they must first pass the hunting test before they are admitted to the boys' initiation. Ten or 12 candidates are taken into the bush and must live for a month on veldkost, which is sprinkled with a medicine by the doctor before it is eaten. Women are not allowed to come near the camp.

During one of the nocturnal dances, Hise appears, dances [776] around the circle, and is then driven away by the medicine man. [787] Some say Hise looks like a woman; others describe him as a be- 535 ing three feet tall, with a flat head, large eyes, black body, 881 wings and claws (one is reminded of the spirit bird Engorori, which appears at the initiation of the Ovambo, or of the Neida Gamaseb of the Bergdama).

Some old ≠Auin saw two beings, one male and one female, 787 who looked like lions but walked upright; they were followed by children who looked like baboons.

Evidently masked dances, are involved here. The younger 535 men no longer see this Hise; the doctors explain to them that he 881 came, but could only be seen by the medicine men.

A special dance for Hise is an imitation of a bird's movements. In olden times the people also danced in pairs, while they sang in refrain: "Ostrich stomach, Hise stomach, hu, hu, hu."

The /Di dance is likewise dedicated to Hise. At this dance the men wear the dance rattles described above, as is also done for profane dances, but in addition they wear white or black ostrich feathers.

3. The Girls' Initiation

Among the Nogau when a girl has her first menstruation, 881 there is a celebration. Throughout the first day the girl must stay [343] in a closed, arbor-like pontok especially constructed for her. She is only given something to drink, nothing to eat. The women gather from far and near and perform dances around this arbor. These festivities last for five days, and only one man is present as a leader of the ceremony. During these five days the girl is regarded as "poisonous" and may not touch anything, not even

NARON
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NOGAU

[70 cont.]

881 her food, which is given to her by an old woman. On the sixth day the girl goes looking for veldkost with an old woman, and, when she has returned, she herself makes the fire and cooks the food in the circle of her guests, for the first time officially independent. [582] Girls may marry even before this ceremony.

[71] Among the ≠Auin the initiation is held for each girl 881 at the time of the first menstruation. The same is true among the Naron. The eland bull dance is performed every night during 881 the girl's period. Two old men attach real or wooden eland 535 horns to their heads and wait in the bush. Then the menstruating girl comes and sits down or lies down surrounded by old women, in the center of a circle of younger women who stage a dance. The two eland bulls soon appear and then quickly disappear again. The dance is very indecent. Among the Nussan, men masked as birds (!) take the place of the eland bulls.

796 Once a year, in autumn when the veldkost is harvested, there is a great festival. The day is called: "//gam gna she (the great day)." On this occasion food is prepared, and the Bushmen come from all sides. They dance and sing, but they are supposed to stay at home; no one may hunt, look for veldkost, or do any kind of work. [Fig. 25 appears here.]

4. Courtship, Wedding, and Marriage

If a young Bushman wants to marry, he does not go to the girl, but instead must speak with her parents; at the same time 584 the girl's consent to the marriage is necessary. Once this consent is given, presents are exchanged between the parents of the engaged couple, or a gemsbok is shot and divided between the two families. Immediately after the presents have been exchanged, preparations for the wedding are begun. If enough game, above all, a gemsbok, is at hand, they dance through the [539] entire night and sing: "Ueeõ, ueeeõ, õ, eee, gueeõ, guueeõ," etc.

Then the young man takes his wife and moves to the horde 581 of his father. Great importance is attached to virginity before [591] marriage. "It simply does not happen among us that a girl

sticks pipes, etc., and occasionally assist the women in fetching wood and water. The women build the huts, collect veldkos and prepare the food, make the fire and keep it going, gather wood, fetch water and manufacture ostrich eggshell beads for ornaments, etc. The latter are also responsible for keeping the camp clean. 462

Infants and young children accompany their mothers on their daily excursions in search of food until they are old enough to look after themselves. From that time onwards the mothers take practically no share in their education which, in the case of girls, is entrusted entirely to an old woman who lives in the hut with the young girls, and in the case of boys, to their fathers. 857 855 871

Little girls, while still with their mothers, are taught to love and respect the old woman and to seek her company of their own accord. After taking up residence with her they accompany her daily into the veld and thus gradually come to learn from her all the duties which will ultimately devolve upon them. Boys sleep under the tree in the centre of the camp at night or in a hut specially set apart for them. Each morning they accompany their fathers into the veld. At first they are given little bows and wooden arrows with which to amuse themselves. Towards the eighth or ninth year each is provided by his father with a proper bow and three arrows which, however, are not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbuck or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veld craft. 868 857

Initiation Ceremonies.

Both boys and girls, on reaching a marriageable age, are subjected to certain ceremonies before being admitted to full membership of the group. These ceremonies vary considerably among the various tribes. 851 [134]

The following is an account of the girls' initiation ceremony as practised among the *Hei-||om* group around the Etosha Pan. As young girls (*ǂkham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty they are placed in a hut called *ǂkham-khoidi* or *oa.ai-khoidi oms* in which they sleep at night. During the daytime they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women. Men, whether married or single, may not enter the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* nor may they speak to the *ǂkham-khoidi*. The latter may, however, speak and be spoken to by the *aaurogu*, but only at a distance so that no conversation of an intimate nature is possible without being overheard by the grown-up people. A man may on occasion address a *ǂkham-khois* by saying, "you must grow up so that I may marry you," but she will not reply. When addressed by a man, say, in the veld, she runs away to her

881 companions saying, "I dare not speak to you." The married
[867 women visit the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* and instruct the initiates
868] in various domestic matters, *e.g.*, the way to clean and tidy their huts, to remain quiet when their husbands are cross, to prepare their husbands' food separately from their own, to pick up and beat the kudu skin on returning home in the evening so that the husband does not sleep on the previous day's dirt, etc. They further teach them to gather wood, to make the fire, to take away the ashes and so forth. At the onset of the first menstruation the girl tells her mother or, in case she has no mother, her best friend (*/hosas*), who then reports to one of the married women, not necessarily to the *gei-khois*. She is then isolated in a small round hut which is
[343] completely closed in except for a small entrance. It is known as the */hawa-omi* (hut for waiting) and is situated close to the *ǂkham-khoidi oms*. She is required to remain inside the */hawa-omi* and dare not show herself outside. No fire is made in the hut. She is fed by her mother or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman. She is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. No medicine is given to her. Daily applications of */gub*, a red powder obtained by pulverising the bark of a tree, and of the roasted and powdered fat-containing seed of the *ǂerob* tree are made to her hair by the attendant. She may be given veldkos, but
[262] is not allowed to partake of meat. No man, not even the girl's father, may pass close to the */hawa-omi* or attempt to speak to her. She remains in the */hawa-omi* as long as the flow lasts. When it has ceased she informs her mother or the woman who has been attending her. The latter tells the
535 other married women and they all prepare to dance the
881 */hawa-ǂnab* (menstruation dance). This dance takes place during the day and men may not take part in it. They may, however, remain in the *//gāus* while it is going on or enter it when returning from the veld. The *ǂkham-khoidi* are also excluded from it. The */hawa-ǂnab* may be continued for three or four days. When the dance is about to begin an old woman, generally the *gei-khois*, holding a jackal tail duster, takes up a position some distance in front of the */hawa-omi*, and, dancing in one spot as if marking time, shouts *Ki-ri-ri-ri-ri-ri* to waken the initiate and to summon the other women. The latter then emerge from their huts and, dancing as they come along, take up position behind the */hawa-oms*. Two of them dance forward, passing one on each side of the little hut, towards its entrance and, as they reach the latter, the initiate comes out and the old woman stops shouting. After covering her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross (*/gan-tab*), leaving only the eyes visible, each of the women takes an arm and, the other women coming into line from behind the hut, all dance towards the old woman who leads the way to the */huru-ǂgab*. Here they dance, the feet being thrown out sideways, always abreast of each other, with the old woman leading. Men are not permitted to watch the
881 dance. When the dance is about to end they return her to

the */hawa-omi* in a similar manner. The same procedure is gone through for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, she is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in the ceremony and, after she has been returned to the */hawa-omi*, the *axarogu*, who are required to remain in the *//gãus* for the occasion, are summoned to pass in Indian file behind her hut. As they pass each presses his scrotum against her hand which is protruded through a very small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut and she touches it with fore-finger and thumb. This is done to protect the *axarogu* against sexual disease (swelling of the testicles) which is caused by treading on the place where a menstruating */gari-khois* has urinated. If she does not touch the scrotum and such a lad should pass behind her while she has her periods, his testicles will become swollen. The same will happen if she were to tread on the urine of such a boy. When this happens the youth is said to be */gou*. After all the *axarogu* have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the */hawa-omi* and rubs her body down (*/u*) with a preparation of roots, the name and source of which could not be ascertained. Now two of the *ǂkham-khoidi* come forward and take her to fetch water. This is done at a run, the water being brought quickly and placed at the hut of the old woman who rubbed her down. Then two other *ǂkham-khoidi* take her to fetch wood. This is likewise done at a run and after the wood has been deposited the ceremony is over. She is now a woman and known as a */gari-khois*. While the ceremony was in progress a new hut, which is known as the */gari-khois-oms*, was built for her by her mother. In this she now takes up her residence until she marries. [841] [751] [882]

The *ǂgari-khois* is now eligible to marry and she accompanies the married women on their various excursions for food, wood, etc., and associates with them. The food collected during the four or five days following her transition to womanhood is eaten only by very old women, *e.g.*, the one who rubbed her down. After that any food gathered by her is shared with her mother. She may subsequently not go to the veld to gather veldkos while she is menstruating, but must remain in the *//gãus*. On such occasions she is fed by her mother. [883] [841]

Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in the pursuit of game, especially big game. The ceremony is in reality a test of their powers of endurance and of their skill in the chase. It is always carried out during the rainy season when food is plentiful. All the eligible lads are removed to a spot some distance away from the werft and placed under the charge of one or more of the elders of the group. An enclosure is made round a big tree and in this they are required to live for the time being. They sleep in the enclosure and the elders around the fire which is made at its entrance. Women are not permitted to approach or communicate with them during the course of the [881] [221]

881 ceremony, which may last for a month or even longer. The latter, as practised among the *ǂAo-//ẽin*, consists of several stages. On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the smoke of the "devil's" fire (*//gũua-da*) and are required to partake of the "devil's" urine (*//gũua-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nõun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nõun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//nõun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the "Devil" and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nõun* and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. [304] Each one who passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft.

Courtship and Marriage, Death, Etc.

582 Marriage within the group is forbidden and is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. As a rule men do not go far for wives and intermarriage takes place between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women. The southern groups among the Bushmen 184 595 of the Kalahari are monogamous but as one proceeds northwards polygamy is met with. Among the *Hei-//om*, for example, each man has two wives as a rule. The wives may or may not be related. The second wife is taken some time after the first. The wife taken first is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over the second wife. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation. Polygamy is rarely met with among the *ǂAo-//ẽin* and *Naron*. Exchange of wives

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

days, although not all were completely cured; and many, feeling that their luck was very bad at Gautscha, decided to take their chances at other places in the veld where, although there was no water, there were watery roots that could be scraped for moisture. One day many of the people walked away in single file, taking their belongings and carrying on their backs their relatives still too sick to travel, leaving Gautscha Pan deserted except for the three small family bands who made their permanent home there.

One day when we were traveling in the veld about twenty miles from Gautscha we came upon an old man lying on his face on the sand in an open place. He was a member of one of the bands at Gautscha that tried to escape bad luck, and, thinking he was hurt, we stopped at once. But he was not hurt; when we came near him he did not get up, but turned his face away from us and lay as if dazed, pressing one hand to his forehead. We knew him; he was the only Bushman of any nation we had ever met or even heard of who had never married, this because Bushman men must shoot a buck and undergo initiation before they can marry, which he had never done. Instead he lived with his sister, who took care of him and provided him with food, and who had been very ill during the plague at Gautscha. As we looked at him the headman of that band stepped out of the bushes and told us that the old man was not ill but grieving for his sister, who lay dead in a grove of thorn trees a little way beyond. The old man, who had been alone with his sister when she died, had been too weak from the illness to bury her, and had only been able to hide her body under a pile of stones. When the other members of the band had returned to the grove after a day or so of veld food-gathering, it had been too late, too dangerous because of the now roaming spirit, for them to assist

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children. Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender, graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick. People had despaired of him, believing that he would never be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the headmanship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though he shot it, and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he was a man.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned 857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth 156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

● 881 [173] [171] [562] [535] [534] [302] [304] PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the tsi out of the ashes.

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[224]

choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up.[1] Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate.[2] Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not seem to occur to any extent in the Northern tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional,[3] and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes.

Barrow further mentions that in a large band of Bushmen seen by him in the midlands of the Cape all the men had a small piece of wood or porcupine quill inserted through the perforated septum of the nose.[4] This practice is not reported definitely by any of the other writers on the Southern Bushmen, although it is hinted at by Bleek and Lloyd.[5] Hahn, however, speaks of it as occurring in a Bushman tribe in the South-West Kalahari, whom he therefore names "Nasenstockträger",[6] and recently Pöch has published the photograph of a woman from the waterhole/kang in the Southern Kalahari, in which it is seen very clearly.[7]

In the majority of Northern Bushmen at the present time, and especially in the North-Western tribes, the most widespread form of mutilation is scarification, which was quite unknown among the tribes south of the Molopo.[8] Small cuts about an inch long are made in the skin, and ash black or other colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds, producing a slight but noticeable scar. In the women they are said to be made mostly for ornament only, on the face, thighs, and buttocks, but among the !O Kung of Angola they are also made in connection with the puberty ceremony for girls. In the men some of the cuts may also be purely ornamental, but many of them are definitely related to social and hunting observances. Thus all Naron, Auen, and Kung have a vertical cut or cuts between the eyebrows,

[1] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, p. 17.
[2] Arbousset, loc. cit.; Thompson, loc. cit.
[3] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 290
[4] Op. cit., vol. i, 276.
[5] *Bushman Folklore*, 329.
[6] "Die Buschmänner," 66.
[7] "Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," pl. v, fig. 2.
[8] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101, 108–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 141–2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 245–6; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, *The Naron*, 10–11.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

B 184 304 224 881

given to boys at their puberty ceremonies; other cuts are made to ensure good luck in hunting, while still others are the marks of successful hunters. These special cuts will all be discussed below in more detail.

B 184 304 881

According to Dornan the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari practise circumcision of boys and what appears to be a form of cliterodectomy in girls, both in connection with puberty ceremonies. These mutilations he regards as common to most Bushmen and as being truly Bushman in origin, even going so far as to advance the opinion that the neighbouring Bantu who also practise them have taken them over from the Bushmen.[1] This view cannot be upheld. Actually none of the other Bushmen known to us have either form of mutilation, so that these practices can by no means be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture. It is far more probable that the Hiechware have adopted them from the BeChwana, to whose influence they have long been exposed, just as they have adopted from them other elements of Bantu culture, both in technology and in religion.

Hottentots

H 304

Circumcision, as in the case of the Bushmen, was altogether unknown to the Hottentots. Kolb and several other early writers on the Cape Hottentots, however, state that at or before puberty the left testicle of every boy was excised.[2] It is difficult to decide how much truth there is in this statement, although Kolb gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac.[3] Certainly in more recent times the custom of excision, if it ever did exist (and one is inclined to believe that the older writers may be trusted in this respect), has completely disappeared; and it has never

H [147]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 158–60.
[2] Kolb, op. cit., 55 sqq.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heer Joachim van Plettenberg," 98–9; other references summarized by Walk, "Initiationszeremonien . . . der südafrikanischen Stämme," 882 sqq.
[3] Fritsch, op. cit., 333–4.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

the Heikum, there is also a definite tendency towards band exogamy.[1] This means that in general courtship and marriage take place between persons belonging to different bands, and therefore to different localities.

As a rule boys and girls are not permitted to marry until they have reached the age of puberty, and have passed through the puberty ceremonies.[2] Marriage generally takes place shortly afterwards. Among the Naron and the Auen, for example, most people are married by the time they are twenty, many of them, indeed, when they are several years younger, and so, too, among the Kung marriage takes place at quite an early age.[3]

Marriage Ceremonies

From the sketchy descriptions available about the marriage customs of the Bushmen, there does not appear to be any elaborate ceremonial attaching to the process of courtship and marriage. The actual details recorded vary slightly from tribe to tribe, but in the main features there is a considerable degree of uniformity.[4] The initiative lies as a rule in the hands of the prospective bridegroom. When he has found a suitable girl, he either himself or through an intermediary such as his best friend has to win the consent of her parents, above all of her mother, to whom he brings gifts in the form of game and vegetable foods, blankets, skins, beadwork, and so on. This period of courtship may last for a considerable time, often over a year or so. If no objection is taken to him, and his gifts are accepted, he after a while simply takes the girl to his hut, and the marriage is regarded as settled. As a rule, this step is accompanied by a feast, in which the families and friends of both bride and bridegroom participate. Among the Northern and Namib Bushmen, indeed, it is obligatory on the bridegroom that he should kill a head of big game and present it to either the bride or her mother for the marriage feast. After marriage he also has to present his wife with a full woman's kaross, as well as other articles of clothing and ornaments, while she brings with her all her own property, mainly in the form of domestic utensils.

[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung: "Die Kinder der Vaterschwestern gelten als Vettern, unter ihnen ist die Ehe verboten. Dagegen sind die Kinder der Vaterbruder Geschwister und man muss die Tochter des Vaterbruders heiraten, falls diese es verlangt" (op. cit., 14). This needs to be confirmed; it is at variance with the tendency to band exogamy noted among all the North-Western Bushmen, including the Kung.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 101; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157, 158; Fourie, op. cit., 89, 91.

[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 33–4.

[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 504–5; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 358; Passarge, op. cit., 105; Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; Vedder, op. cit., 8; Dornan, op. cit., 134–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

857 sleepy, and crawl on to the grass in the hut. No one sends them to bed.

593 So the children, during infancy and childhood, remain under the tutelage and in the care of their parents. Once they are grown up, no one really controls them. The tie between parents and mature children is simply one of respect and love, but there is no lack of family affection. Grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives 603 are also respected to some extent, according to character. Among the Naron, grandparents, especially on the mother's side, take a [597] great interest in their grandchildren, and often adopt one which has been weaned, while among the Heikum orphans are generally adopted by the maternal grandparents. The grandmother is often [869] the person who teaches a child to speak. Between two sisters there 593 is usually a close bond of affection, they are generally companions, and help each other with their babies. In certain Cape Bushman tales the wife's unmarried sister is shown staying with her, as helper and nurse of the baby. On the other hand, among some of the North-Western tribes at least, there is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister speaking or sitting together. Here too, as in the case of the mother-in-law, the sitting and not the speaking appears to be the important part, for Miss Bleek records having heard an adult brother and sister address each other, while passing at a good distance.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

● 881 The attainment of puberty is marked among all the Bushmen by the performance of certain ceremonies, through which the young people have to pass before being admitted to full membership of the group. Puberty ceremonies for girls are definitely found in all the [184] Bushman tribes, but corresponding ceremonies for boys appear to be restricted to the northern tribes. These ceremonies vary somewhat from tribe to tribe.

Among the Cape Bushmen a girl at the time of her first menstruation was in a state of taboo. "She is put into a tiny hut, made by her mother, with a very small aperture for the door, which her mother closes upon her. When she goes out, she looks down upon the ground; and when she returns to the hut, she sits and looks down. She does not go far, or walk about at this time. When presently she becomes a 'big girl', she is allowed to look about, and to look afar

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59, 66–7; cf. *idem*, *Naron*, 32; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

again; being, on the first occasion, allowed to look afar over her mother's hand. She leaves the small hut, when allowed to look about and around again; and she then walks about like the other women. During the time she is in retreat, she must not look at the springbok, lest they become wild."[1] She was not allowed to eat game killed by the young men, but only that which her father had shot; and, above all, she was not to look upon or be approached by men lest harm come to both them and herself. There are several legends describing how men who were looked upon by a girl at this time became fixed in whatever position they then occupied, or even became transformed into stones, or stars in the sky, or trees which talked; while girls who were disobedient became converted into frogs or were carried off to death by the rain.[2]

Further north, in some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung), the central feature of the girls' puberty ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is held in the girl's honour.[3] As soon as she has her first period, neighbours and friends assemble to a big feast given by her parents. By day she is kept in a special hut, tended by women only, and no man may come near her; while every night until her period has passed the eland bull dance is performed. All the men and boys leave the camp, save two old men, who tie elands' horns or wooden imitations thereof to their heads, and wait in the bushes. The older women stand in a line, singing and clapping their hands. The girl is brought from her hut, and sits or lies on the ground by them. The younger women then circle round before them, or make a figure of eight. They dance with their arms outstretched before them, and have a peculiar slow, swaying step. As they dance they lift their karosses and aprons to one side, and expose their buttocks, which they waggle from side to side. Then the two "bulls" stamp up, holding their karosses pulled well down over their shoulders, and presenting a hunched-up appearance. They join the line of dancers, sometimes leading it, sometimes in the middle of it, and dance with a slow, jogging step. The song accompanying their movements is full and low in tune, but without words. The motif of this dance clearly is the courtship of the eland bull, and although as seen by Passarge and Miss Bleek it was kept within bounds, they say that it can easily become indecent.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 76–7.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10, 14, 18; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 10.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101–3; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157–8; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

881 The /nu //en hold a similar dance on this occasion, a man with a [535] bird's beak on his head taking the place of the "eland bull".[1]

The corresponding ceremony among the Heikum is a much more elaborate affair.[2] As young girls (*/kham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty, they are placed in a special hut (*/kham-khoidi oms*), in which they sleep at night. During the day time they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women, who also visit the hut and instruct them in the various matters pertaining to domestic life, teach them how to prepare the food, to gather wood, to make the fire, and so on. Men may not enter the hut, nor may the girls speak to or be addressed by any man, whether married or single.

At the onset of her first menstruation, a girl is isolated in a small round hut (*/hawa omi*, hut for waiting), which is completely closed in except for a small entrance, and is situated close to the */kham-khoidi oms*. In this hut she remains as long as the flow lasts; she may not show herself outside, and above all no man may pass close to the hut or attempt to address her. She is fed by her mother, or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman, and is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. She may be given veldkos, but is not allowed to partake of meat. Every day, too, her hair is smeared by the attendant woman with a mixture of red bark powder and powdered seed.

When the flow has ceased the girl informs her mother or attendant. 535 The latter tells the other married women, and they all prepare for the 881 */hawa-/nab* (menstruation dance). This takes place during the day on the central space of the camp. Men may not take part in it, nor even watch it. The girl is led out of her hut by two of the women, who cover her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross, leaving only the eyes visible. Each of the women takes her by the arm, and they join the line of dancers. The women dance abreast of each other, the feet thrown out sideways, with an old woman leading. What their movements are intended to represent we are not told. When the dance is about to end, the girl is taken back to her hut by the two women who had led her out.

The same performance is repeated for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, the girl is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in 88 | the ceremony. Then, after she has been returned to her hut, the

[1] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.
[2] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 17–9; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 89–91.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood, together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolizes the return of the girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down. After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail. Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

184 304 881 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a [776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that *//gãũa*, a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made in his honour.[1] Both the scarifications and the presence of a supernatural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-Western tribes.

184 881 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period. Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described [304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the operators being the older women.[2] If this information be correct, [177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.[3] Here all the eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken [756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure. During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.
[2] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 159.
[3] Passarge, op. cit., 100–1; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23–5; *idem*, "Buschmänner von Angola," 122; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 51; Fourie, op. cit., 91–2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year. [114]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

they may have no fire, and eat no meat, but live only on a little water and on raw roots and berries, which are sprinkled by the magicians with powdered bark "medicine". The greater part of this early period is spent in the performance of sacred dances (*/gi*, men's dance), which are held all through the day and often continued at night.

These dances among the Naron and Auen are described as follows by Miss Bleek: "All gather in a circle, clap their hands, and sing a weird, solemn tune with the refrain 'honk a honk'. Then they stamp round in a circle waving their arms to another phase of the melody (no words are used); then they stand still and sing the first part again and so on." At this dance the boys often wear ostrich feathers, or the head and beak of the white stork, as head ornaments; otherwise there is no special costume. Anyone owning dancing rattles also wears them, as at the ordinary dances.

On one of the nights of this dance, "a supernatural being called Hishe approaches the dancers, circles round them, and is driven away by the medicine men. The older men had seen this being. One said that it was like a woman in appearance, another that it was not a person at all, but a creature about three feet high with a flat head, red eyes underneath the head, a black body, wings, and claws. Some old Auen said two beings came, male and female, looking like lions, but walking upright. They were followed by children like baboons. The male came first and called the others, they danced round and vanished to the east. Apparently medicine men of different times and places got up different bogies. Latterly their invention seems to have failed, for the middle-aged men told me Hishe came to the dance, but only the medicine men saw her and drove her away." Similarly, among the !O Kung of Angola, "the spirit Huwe occasionally appears and dances with them, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double form as man and woman. Huwe then retires without any particular demonstration."

As will be shown subsequently, Hishe and Huwe are beings who figure prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naron and Kung respectively. There can be little doubt, therefore, inadequate though our information is on this point, that these ceremonies serve in some way to introduce the initiates to the mysteries of tribal religion.

More light is thrown on the routine of these ceremonies by Fourie's description of them as practised among the Auen.[1] "On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the

[1] Loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

881 smoke of the 'devil's' fire (*//gäũa-da*) and are required to partake of the 'devil's' urine (*//gäũa-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nõun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nõun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise, their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//noun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the 'Devil' and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nõun*, and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards, each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. Each one who [304] passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft."

The introduction to the "Devil" mentioned in this account [535] obviously refers to the dance in which Hishe or Huwe, as the case may be, appears before the boys. The hunting test almost certainly forms an essential part of the ceremony in the other tribes as well, judging from a curt remark by Miss Bleek in another context that the boys' initiation rites "certainly have much to do with hunting",[1] but there is no concrete information on this point. The "tattooing", 881 304 or rather cicatrization, referred to by Fourie is confirmed by all the other writers on the puberty ceremonies of the North-Western Bushmen. Among the Kung the boys receive these cuts (*/gi* cuts) between the eyebrows, and, among the Naron and Auen, also on the back between the shoulder blades. They consist of from one to three vertical incisions, about half an inch to an inch long, and are made by the magicians in charge of the ceremonies. Among the Naron

[1] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the councils of the men and associate with them.

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek the */nu//en*, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2]

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto-land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance, Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure, and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them." [4] The description of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with puberty ceremonies for boys.

[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.
[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.
[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 142.
[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31–2.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

304 881 The only other Bushman people among whom the occurrence of initiation rites for boys is definitely recorded are the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari. Here the main element seems to be circumcision. "The boys," according to Dornan,[1] "are operated on at the age of twelve years, all those of the same age being taken together once a year, as with them puberty comes on at an early age . . . (Then follows a description of the operation: the foreskin of the boy is seized by the operator, who pulls it forward over the gland as far as it will stretch, and then cuts it off close with one slash of a stone knife.) . . . They 881 are treated with considerable care for two or three weeks afterwards, and are fed upon meat . . . They are instructed in the traditional lore of the people, the religious observances and into the mysteries of generation. They are carefully informed that intercourse of [834] uncircumcized people is that of the beasts of the field, that in short it is fornication, as well as a good deal that will not bear to be put into print."

114 304 177 184 Although, as already mentioned, Dornan regards circumcision as an original Bushman custom, there can be little doubt that the Hiechware have taken it over from the BeChwana among whom they live. They are the only Bushman people among whom this practice is asserted to occur, while its absence from other Bushman tribes is explicitly affirmed by all writers. Consequently the puberty rites in the form described by Dornan must be regarded as introduced elements of culture. It is conceivable that the boys' puberty rites among the North-Western tribes should also be attributed to Bantu influence, since nothing similar to them appears to exist in the south. But in several of their details, especially in the introduction of the tribal deities and in the form of mutilation these rites differ considerably from the corresponding rites of the neighbouring South-Western and South-Central Bantu, while on the other hand they are intimately connected with both the economic activities and the religious beliefs of the Bushmen. It is difficult therefore to imagine their having been borrowed, unless it is conceded that they have undergone considerable modification in the process of adaptation. But whether borrowed or not—and the possibility of borrowing, although difficult to establish, is not entirely eliminated—these rites clearly separate the North-Western tribes from their Southern relatives in at least one important feature of culture.

[1] Op. cit., 158-60.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

previously noted, plays an important part in the usages relating to game shot with the bow and arrow, as well as in the first-fruits ceremony; while among the Kung he is similarly responsible for the ceremony performed before the edible bulbs of the new season may be gathered. There is no record of similar religious and economic functions being vested in the chief in other Bushman tribes, so that, in the present light of our knowledge, such customs cannot be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture; but in the tribes where they do occur they obviously show that the chief may, in fact, exercise a considerable influence in the life of the community.

On the whole the chief appears to be essentially a leader rather than a ruler. His actual authority over the members of his band is very slight, and dependent to a considerable extent upon his personality. If, for example, he is a man of strong character, or possesses a gun, he will have a correspondingly greater influence; but the only special authority he has is over the members of his own family, and he has no power to enforce his will outside it. He has nothing in the way of judicial functions, nor does he exercise any organized control over the members of the band. Great freedom of action prevails within the band, and as a rule every adult man can do as he pleases, provided, of course, that he does not infringe against recognized law and custom. In general the head of each family has control over the movements of his wife or wives and children—and over the latter only while they are small. No one really controls grown-up sons and daughters.

This absence of any organized system of public control does not imply that the Bushmen have no laws. On the contrary all their institutions, manners and customs serve to regulate the relations between the members of the band, and thus to maintain law and order. The child at birth comes into a world where there already exist definite forms of organization and behaviour, of ceremonial, of manners and fashions, and as he grows up he falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking like those around him, and in this way comes to conform to social norms. There are moreover more or less deliberate means of impressing upon young people the social sentiments necessary for the maintenance of the law and order of the community. The education they receive in the households of their parents and out in the veld, and above all the highly-important teachings at the puberty ceremonies for boys, instruct them in tribal lore and tradition, inculcate social norms, and determine their activities accordingly.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Bushmen from all parts of the Ghanzi veld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 134.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 11; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Ko (ngo), 05

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[797] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and
● [88] who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys' puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
177 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba").
776 This is the

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 301, 305–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

while those dying a "good death" go to */khutse* (*/khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndɛambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds.

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 133–4.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase; he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness; and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day; he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting. On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe* is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen. *Thora* is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease, and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis, just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and *Huwe* is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, */nawa* or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explanation may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*, the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder, lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples; it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which the social welfare depends. There is no English word which adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of either sex, were called */gixa* (plural, */giten*). There is unfortunately no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep, knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people, defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place, and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole. His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death, for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rain-maker was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success in hunting.[1]

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce *Hishe* into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys. Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 18; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 22.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.' So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.' Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians. The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications, sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind, if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui //Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *//Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *//gami*, "water," and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains". *//Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *//Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a "sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui //Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq.; *idem*, "The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heiseb* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hishe*, i.e. *Huwe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.